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The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. -- James Monroe

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The Houses of Parliament

GALLOWAY

British Life Changes Under Impact of War

THREE years ago today, the people of Britain looked upon the war in a mood of general satisfaction. It was early in May and the British army was planted firmly—or so it seemed—upon the continent of Europe. Britain and France stood behind the great Maginot Line of fortifications, fully confident that their combined strength would slowly crush Germany to death.

Much history has been written since that time. A few short days later, on May 10, 1940, the Nazi blow fell on Western Europe. It was only a matter of weeks until the British were making a tragic evacuation from Dunkirk, and France was out of the war. Britain seemed doomed to quick and certain defeat.

The events that followed are vividly remembered the world over—the Battle of Britain; the desperate resistance of the British left alone to face a more powerful enemy; the gallant and successful defense of the British Isles by a mere handful of Royal Air Force planes.

In this war, the British people have gone through an ordeal of fire and blood, of bomb and terror. In consequence they are not the same people they were on that quiet day in early May, three years ago, when they looked so serenely and so confidently on the world about them. The war has done things to them. It has shaken them from their past. It has

changed their outlook. It has caused them to think in a way which most of them would not have recognized, and many would have opposed, before the war.

To appreciate the change which has taken place, we must get the contrast between the Britain that was and the Britain that is. Before the war, the British Empire was secure in its world-wide prestige and power. It stretched to the farthest corners of the earth; it commanded a major portion of the world's trade and resources; it was backed up by a great navy which kept open the lines of communication and assured control over strategic passageways between the oceans and seas—Gibraltar, Suez, Singapore.

Over the years, the British had skillfully built up this world network of countries and colonies. Wealthy Englishmen had profited from trade and business opportunities. They were frequently the inheritors of titles which gave them social rank and which permitted them to sit in the august House of Lords. Their sons went to the "public schools," which were really exclusive private

schools, and from there, often enough, into the British Civil Service, which sent them to India and other possessions of the Empire where they were taught to rule in the name of the British Crown.

The Empire, however, did not make Britain a wealthy country. It brought wealth to some, it made possible the building of great industrial centers, and it brought in trade—necessary to the life of a small crowded island like Britain. But many millions of people of Britain were far from being well off. The coal miners of Wales; the industrial workers in the "black country" of soot and smoke around Sheffield, Birmingham, or Lancaster; the agricultural laborers on large farms and estates—these and many others knew the meaning of harsh poverty and ill nourishment, of unhappiness and despair.

To the outsider, Britain may have been a beautiful land adorned with ancient castles, with picturesque and historic towns, but many a working person in England knew it only for its slums, its "depressed areas," and its uninviting factories.

Of course, Britain was not divided

into clear-cut classes of rich and poor. There were many people in between who comprised a great middle class. But, in general, Britain was a land of class distinctions. It was much more difficult for a worker—say a miner—to rise above his station in Britain than in the United States. Class lines and class distinctions combined to hold him back.

The educational system tended to fix these class distinctions and to keep the poor from rising. The "public schools" gave the sons of the well-to-do and rich a good education and taught them manners and speech which set them apart from those in ordinary walks of life. The poorer elements of the population could not afford to send their sons to "rich men's schools" and ordinarily could not afford to give them as much as a high school education. Their sons were brought up lacking in education, and were marked for life because they had not been taught the manners of the upper classes.

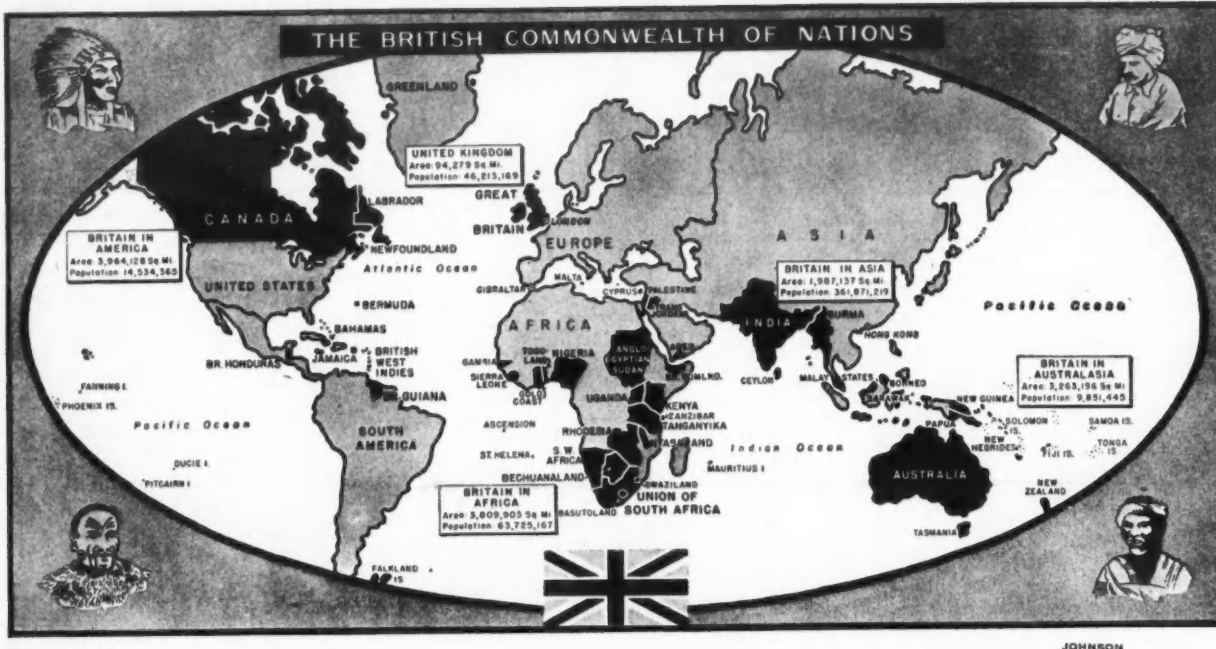
Occasionally, the son of a poor man would break through the barrier and get the kind of education he needed. But he generally had to have help from an influential person.

It was on this kind of a Britain that Hitler's bombs began to fall in the late summer of 1940. The bombs did more than to break the roofs and walls of houses and factories and to

(Concluded on page 2)

Special Issue

We are devoting the entire paper this week to the British Commonwealth of Nations, with the intention of promoting better understanding of our British Allies. The usual features will reappear next week.



War Changes Life in Britain

(Concluded from page 1)

kill some thousands of people. They broke through the hard crust of tradition which had kept Britain the nation she was.

The title of "Sir" or "Lord" does not mean much when you are huddled with hundreds of other fellow humans in an air raid shelter which is shivering with the tremor caused by terrific explosions on the outside. The old way of doing things does not seem so important any longer.

In the common struggle to defend their homeland, the British found out that they were *people*, and not lords or dukes, employers or workers. The little man, the "underdog," became a fire warden or a plane spotter beside the owner of an estate and did an equally good job at it. As men were drawn more and more into the armed forces, the women entered the industries and the services and took over positions of responsible management. Rationing made food and goods available at a common level to all. Taxes cut into incomes so deeply that the wealthy man became a rarity. It all amounted to a revolution in the British way of life.

And it brought a revolution in the British way of thinking. The people of Britain who are fighting and dying, working and sacrificing, that their country may be saved, are resolved that Britain will not go back to her old ways after the war. They are thinking and thinking hard about the postwar years and about the things they are fighting for. There are signs which show where their thoughts are leading them.

After the war they want, first of all, peace. They see the necessity of nations' working together for the sake of preventing war. Britain, like other nations, failed to give wholehearted cooperation after the last war. The people do not want to see this error repeated.

They want work. Prime Minister Churchill, in his latest address, recognized their paramount desire, and dealt at some length with British postwar problems. He suggested a series of Four Year Plans looking to the improvement of industry, agriculture, housing, health, and education. He expressed his belief that government and industry should share in managing the affairs of the nation for the benefit of all. If the

people have their way, the possession of property, wealth, and position will mean less after the war. Jobs, health, and well-being will come first.

In the same radio address, Prime Minister Churchill made the significant statement that "We cannot afford to have idle people. Idlers at the top make idlers at the bottom. No one must stand aside in his working prime to pursue a life of selfish pleasure. There are wasters in all classes. Happily they are only a small minority in every class, but anyhow we cannot have a band of drones in our midst, whether they come from the ancient aristocracy or the modern plutocracy, or the ordinary type of pub crawler."

They want security. The Beveridge Plan, summarized on this page, has been received with wide enthusiasm. It would provide an improved system of social security "from the cradle to the grave," assuring the worker against such tragic social hazards as

unemployment, ill health, poverty.

They want a new Britain. There is great interest in plans for reconstructing bombed cities and towns after the war. These plans include proposals for the abolition of slums, for the laying out of parks, for the construction of new schools, hospitals, and health centers. British planning, in this respect, has gone further than that of any other country.

These are the hopes and the aspirations of the British people for the postwar years. The general frame of mind of the people is summed up by the Welsh infantryman from the coal fields who said:

"If anyone had told me ten years ago I'd be fighting for England I'd have laughed. Me, fighting for England! With our village just dead from want of work and ashamed of our idleness! . . . When the war came they gave back the jobs, but who knows if they'll continue after the war. What chance have my kids got in that sort

of life? I'm fighting to beat Hitler, but I'm fighting to beat people all over the world, maybe here, too, who want to deny us education, medical care, and a chance to get on in the world."

Let's Give Credit

Remember the British campaign in Flanders? The fall of Hongkong? The surrender of Singapore? The rout in Greece and the debacle at Crete? On these and subsequent disasters, including Rommel's drive across Libya into Egypt, the British Tommy and his fighting cousins, the Anzacs, Canadians, Afrikanders and Indians, took many a facetious, and sometimes bitter, remark from Americans regarding their qualities as fighting men.

British generals would solemnly promise that one fortress city would be held at all cost. These pronouncements were regularly followed by capitulation or bloody defeat.

Still, the British kept holding where they could, and giving ground when forced to make way. Meanwhile, British factories hummed and British armies were hard at training. Then came the reinforcement of the El Alamein line holding Rommel out of Cairo and Suez.

What say you now about those British Empire troops?

They have beaten Hitler's best marshal and a force that had made a record of amazingly swift conquest.

They have beaten the veterans of their early defeats culminating in Dunkirk.

They have conquered the last foot of the former Italian Empire in Africa.

They have all but driven the Germans and Italians from the African bridgehead in Tunisia.

They are the British—those same Tommies, Canadians, Anzacs, Afrikanders, and Indians who, because of ineffective numbers, equipment, and supplies, suffered a fate similar to that our own troops met on Bataan.

(From an editorial in the Danville, Virginia, Register)

The Beveridge Plan

The British people have long enjoyed a system of social security. For 30 years they have had some degree of national health insurance, workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, and pensions. The new Beveridge Plan would expand these benefits so that every person—regardless of what he does, how much he earns, or how old he is—will be covered by social security according to his needs.

In the past, some social benefits were issued by local governments, and some by bureaus in the national government. Under Sir William Beveridge's plan, this would be changed. A separate national department, headed by a cabinet minister, would take care of collecting contributions and distributing benefits.

Everyone of working age would contribute a small amount each week toward social security. The amount will differ for each person, according to his position. In other words, men will give more to provide for their wives' insurance, and employers will contribute to what the workers receive as well as to their own benefits.

Here is an outline of what the Beveridge Plan offers:

YOUTH:

1. All children whose parents receive pensions or other national

insurance benefits will be cared for by special allowances. Families who do not receive social insurance will be given allowances for all children but one.

HEALTH:

1. In return for regular payment of a small fee, all persons will receive the medical care they need through a national health service.

EMPLOYMENT:

1. Everyone working for wages will receive unemployment compensation for the full term of his unemployment. Money for this will be collected from both employers and employees.

2. Independent workers and employers will be entitled to a training benefit—an allowance they can live on while learning a new vocation if they can no longer support themselves through the old ones.

3. All workers will be given disability insurance, accident compensation, and illness benefits. Industrial pensions, in proportion to previous

earnings, will be given to persons permanently disabled.

AGED:

1. Men over 65 years of age and women over 60 will receive old age pensions upon retirement. Rates and amounts of contributions will vary according to the individual's work status.

2. All persons will receive benefits to cover funeral expenses.

WOMEN:

1. At marriage, women will be given a dowry benefit to cover the expense of setting up a home.

2. Whether or not they are working, all women will be given a special maternity grant. Women who do not work will be paid through contributions by their husbands. Working women will make their own contributions, and will receive slightly higher benefits.

3. Unemployed women who are widowed or separated from their husbands will receive benefits paid for by their husbands' contributions. Employed women will make their own contributions. Widows without children will receive temporary benefits; those with children, permanent allowances.



The English System of Government

It is sometimes said that England has no constitution. In a sense this is true, and in another sense it is not. It is a fact that there is no single document in England which can be compared to the United States Constitution—no document which definitely and briefly describes the powers which the various branches of the government shall or shall not exercise.

But in England, the powers of the various branches of government are established by custom. When one speaks, for example, of the powers which the House of Commons will exercise, he does not refer to a written constitution to see what these powers are. Instead, he inquires what powers the House of Commons as a matter of fact exercises, which powers it has been exercising back through the years, which ones have become fixed by custom or usage. Thus, does he find out how the government of England works. In other words, what the English "constitution" is.

These customs or ways of governing have changed slowly through the centuries. Many years ago, England was an absolute monarchy. The King had the power to do anything he wished. This power was never formally taken away from him. At no time did the English call a constitutional convention and write it down into a formal document that the King should no longer exercise despotic power. In form the King is still an absolute monarch. When a law is passed, it is passed in the name of the King. The English still speak of "His Majesty's Navy" or "His Majesty's Army."

But this is merely a matter of form. Even though no constitutional convention ever formally took the King's power away, he nevertheless lost it. Gradually, through the years, the custom grew up that the King, though he had full power, could not enact any law with his own hand, nor could he do anything else personally. He had to act through ministers. The ministers issued laws or proclamations in the name of the King.

This was not such an important step, however, because the King chose his ministers or cabinet members and they did whatever he wanted them to do. But gradually, another custom developed. The ministers came under the influence of Parliament instead of the King. In the course of time, the rule was established that the King could not appoint a minister without the consent of the House of Commons. He had to appoint men whom a majority of the members of the House of Commons approved.

This was the last of the King's real power. The laws were still enacted in his name and all sorts of acts of government were performed in his name, but they were performed by ministers who, in reality, were chosen by a majority of the House of Commons. This meant that the House of Commons, rather than the King, ruled England.

The British Parliament consists of two houses, the House of Commons and the House of Lords. The House of Commons consists of 615 members. They are elected by the people for a term of five years. The country is divided into districts and the election of the members of the House is by these districts.

The members of the House of Lords

are not elected by the people. Any person who belongs to the nobility, to the class of peers, is entitled to a seat in the House of Lords. This seat he holds for life, and, if after his death the title passes to his son or relative, that person too has a seat in the House of Lords. But not all of the 700 peers care to sit regularly in the House of Lords. Most of them attend only on important occasions, such as the opening of Parliament. A much smaller number of them attend regularly. These are men who

seats in Parliament—most of them in the House of Commons. The cabinet not only sits in Parliament, but it exercises leadership in that body. Practically all important bills are first agreed upon by the cabinet and then introduced into the House of Commons by the cabinet.

If the cabinet should introduce an important measure in the House of Commons and if the House should vote it down, this would mean that the cabinet no longer had the support of the Commons. The Prime Minister,



Number 10 Downing Street—the "White House" of England

have been in public life and are interested in affairs of government.

These two bodies, unlike our Senate and House of Representatives, are not equal in power. The House of Lords has little influence. The House of Commons is the dominant body. If it passes a bill, the bill goes to the House of Lords. The House of Lords has a right to vote the measure down, but if it does so, the measure goes back to the House of Commons. If the House of Commons passes the bill a second time, it becomes a law without the approval of the Lords. This means, of course, that the real law-making body in England is the House of Commons.

A very important group in the English government is the cabinet. It consists of about 20 members headed by the Prime Minister, who is the most powerful official in the government. His position corresponds to that of the President of the United States, though there are many differences in the two offices.

The cabinet is appointed by the King but, as a usual thing, it is made up of the leaders of the majority party in the House of Commons.

The members of the cabinet have

as head of the cabinet, would then do one of two things:

(a) He might resign. Ordinarily, this is what he would do. He would hand his resignation to the King, who would then appoint another Prime Minister. This new Prime Minister would form a cabinet and would ask for a vote of confidence from the House of Commons. If the House of Commons gave him a vote of confidence, he and the cabinet would remain in power. If, on the other hand, the House refused to give him a vote of confidence, he would report to the King that he had found it impossible "to form a government" and he too would resign. This process would go on until the King had selected men whom a majority of the Commons would support.

(b) If the Prime Minister decided that though the House of Commons was against him and his policies the country as a whole would support him, he would not resign. Instead, he would ask the King to dissolve the Parliament or bring to an end the terms of office of all the members of the House of Commons. The King would be obliged to do this and an election would be held.

If the Prime Minister's party won the election, he would stay in power. If, on the other hand, he lost the election, he would resign and the King would appoint as Prime Minister a man who could command the support of the new Parliament.

When we compare this system of government with our own, we see a number of important differences. In the United States there are more "checks and balances." Whenever our Congress is considering a law, it has to inquire whether the law is constitutional. There are certain things which the Constitution forbids Congress to do. So Congress has to keep always in mind the question of whether it is acting within its powers.

In England there is also much discussion as to whether a proposed act is "constitutional," that is, whether it is in accordance with custom or tradition. But if Parliament passes a law, there is never any question of its "constitutionality," for the powers of Parliament are unlimited. There is no Supreme Court to throw out any legislation which Parliament adopts.

In the United States the two houses of our Congress are checks against each other. A bill may pass one house, but it is not a law until it passes the other. In England, the House of Commons may do anything it likes. The House of Lords can only delay action for a little while, but cannot prevent it.

In the United States there is a President who acts as a check against legislation. He may veto a bill and then it can become a law only if passed by a two-thirds vote of both houses in Congress. In England, there is no veto power upon any act which the Parliament adopts. The executive and legislative branches are united, for executive power is in the hands of the Prime Minister and his cabinet and they are members of Parliament, sit in that body, answer questions as to what they are doing, and keep in close contact.

In the United States powers are divided between the federal government and the states. In England, there are no local governments with fixed powers, such as our states have. The national Parliament rules the whole country and gives to counties and cities only such powers as it chooses to give.

The American Observer

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GREAT BRITAIN



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The British Commonwealth

FIVE hundred million people—one-fourth the world's population—and one-fourth the earth's land surface, make up the British Empire, or the British Commonwealth of Nations.* Scattered over the seven seas and on all the continents, it is an empire embracing every race and color, and a never-ending variety of customs, laws, governments, languages, and religions.

Just as the empire is richly varied in geography and resources, it has brought together almost every system of law known to man and at least 50 governments. The governments range all the way from those of the entirely independent dominions to the partial self-rule of the smaller territories, with many an isolated group living under tribal custom. Despite the variety and the differences, however, the members of the commonwealth can be divided into a few large groups.

Differing Groups

Most important of all are the self-governing dominions which with the United Kingdom constitute the British Commonwealth of Nations—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, and Eire. Britain herself is sometimes called the senior dominion, but as the home of the crown symbol she takes a higher place of leadership. The dominions are completely independent nations in every respect.

Another important group, sometimes labeled the near-dominions, is made up of lands which are partly self-governing and partly under the authority of Britain. Among these are India and Burma.

The rest of the lands may be lumped together as the "British Colonial Empire." They include the partly autonomous colonies, such as Bermuda and the Bahamas, which have certain powers, but lack complete self-government in any field. Then there are the protectorates—North Borneo is an example—which are self-governing in their internal affairs, but whose foreign affairs are controlled by Britain. Along with the protectorates come the so-called protected states, such as certain regions in India, whose native rulers govern under the general direction of a British official.

Still another type of rule is found in the mandated territories—regions which Britain undertook to rule for the League of Nations. Palestine is perhaps the outstanding example.

The United Kingdom

At the center of this ever-changing commonwealth is England. England, Scotland, and Wales together make up Great Britain. In turn, Great Britain and Northern Ireland form the United Kingdom. Finally, the two large islands of Great Britain and Ireland, and the several thousand smaller islands in surrounding waters, are known as the British Isles.

The 95,000 square miles of the United Kingdom are inhabited by over 46,000,000 people, most of whom in normal times are engaged in the nation's many industries. The country is rich in coal, and its leading manufactured products are textiles, ships, chemicals, and metal goods.

Before the war compelled the United Kingdom to produce more of its own food,

the nation imported about four-fifths of its grains and fruits; about one-half its meat, eggs, and dairy products; and one-third its fish and vegetables. After the war, of course, the people will give up gardening every nook and corner, but the nation as a whole will undoubtedly continue to produce a greater proportion of its food than it has in the past.

Canada

With a population of less than 11,500,000, but with enormous natural wealth in her 3,695,000 square miles (as large as the United States and all its possessions), Canada has made a tremendous contribution to the war. Billions of pounds of food, all kinds of munitions and war equipment, and thousands of highly trained aviators have come from this dominion.

Canadian geographic regions and patterns of living roughly parallel our own, but the climate is colder. Most of the people live in a 300-mile fringe bordering the United States; beyond that is rough frontier country. The population is one-third French, one-half Anglo-Saxon; the government at Ottawa follows the British pattern.

Fishing and fruit raising in the Maritime Provinces, dairying in Quebec, manufacturing in the central provinces, and wheat farming, logging, and mining in the west mark the highlights of Canadian life. There are enormous undeveloped resources. Canada leads the world in production of nickel, platinum, and asbestos; ranks third in production of gold, silver, and copper. Fur, wood pulp, lumber, zinc, and lead are other important products. Canada is the fifth trading nation of the world.

Australia

Much of Australia's 3,000,000 square miles (about the size of the United States) is hot desert and dry plains, especially in the central, western, and northern sections. However, a deep fringe along the east and southeast, and another section in the extreme southwest consists of fertile land. In the tropical areas toward the northern end of this fertile fringe, sugar cane is raised; farther south, a temperate climate permits raising of large amounts of wheat, which is exported, and oats, barley, corn, potatoes, and fruit. The temperate areas also afford rich grazing lands for cattle and sheep. From Australia comes one-fourth of the world's wool, and much meat and dairy products.

Valuable deposits of such minerals as coal, iron, zinc, silver, lead, copper, and tin make possible a small but efficient heavy industry, which has grown rapidly since the war began.

Aside from a few primitive, black-skinned aborigines inhabiting the interior, the people are almost 100 per cent Anglo-Saxon. Most of them live in the coastal cities, such as Sydney and Melbourne, or the capital at Canberra.

New Zealand

Twelve hundred miles southeast of Australia lie the islands of New Zealand, containing some of the most varied and beautiful scenery in the world. In an area of 104,000 square miles (the size of Colorado), two-thirds of the land is suitable for farming, and New Zealand produces large quantities of meat, wool, and dairy products for export.

Few of the 1,600,000 New Zealanders are very poor or very rich. These people are known all over the world for their advanced

* The terms British Empire and British Commonwealth of Nations are often used interchangeably. Strictly speaking, the British Empire includes all British lands; the British Commonwealth of Nations refers to the self-governing dominions within the Empire.

PHOTOS ON THESE PAGES FROM: GENDREAU, WIDE WORLD, ACME, AUCKLAND WEEKLY NEWS, SO. AFRICA NEWS, GALLO-WAY.

Wealth of Nations

special legislation. Their government at Wellington was one of the first anywhere to pass laws establishing social security and freedom for labor.

India

The great subcontinent of India, with its 3,775,000 square miles, is half the size of the United States, but it is the home of 300,000,000 people—one-fifth the world's population. They are an amazingly varied people of more than 45 races, speaking two or more major languages and a hundred minor ones, divided into hundreds of castes and sub-castes, and belonging to a bewildering number of religious sects and cults. Sixty per cent of them are Hindus; 23 per cent are Moslems.

Nine out of 10 of India's people live in mud-walled, thatch-roofed huts in some 500,000 small villages; three of four farm for a living on very small patches of earth. They are incredibly poor, subsisting on rice, wheat cake, and occasionally a few vegetables, and wearing cheap cotton clothing. The larger cities, such as New Delhi (the capital), Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras are, of course, modern and cosmopolitan.

The chief industry is agriculture, especially the raising of tea. Rice, coffee, wheat, sugar cane, cotton, and jute are other valuable crops. The textile industry is also of great importance; India turns out 8,000,000 pieces of military clothing a month, and 500 billion yards of cotton a year. Since the war, India has made impressive amounts of small war supplies, such as ammunition. The country possesses rich deposits of many minerals—coal, oil, gold, lead, manganese, salt, mica, tin, and iron. India has the largest single steel-producing plant in the empire.

Three-fifths of India (with three-fourths of the population) is ruled by British governors in the 11 provinces of British India. The rest of the country makes up the 562 India states ruled entirely by native princes.

Burma, adjoining India on the east and now occupied by the Japanese, was separated from India in 1937 and made a crown colony.

South Africa

A great deal of South Africa's 472,000 square miles is like our western prairies—dry and sparsely covered with trees, and at worst a barren wasteland. There is, of course, some suitable agricultural land; wheat is an important crop, and cattle are raised.

South Africa is strongest, however, in mineral wealth. It is the richest gold and diamond country in the world, and produces important amounts of coal, copper, tin, chromite, manganese, mica, and platinum. The 2,150,000 white people in South Africa control its economic and political life, but more than 7,500,000 colored people furnish most of the labor for mines, factories, and farms.

Eire

Eire, the southern and major portion of the island of Ireland, does not now consider itself a part of the British Commonwealth. During the period from 1922 to 1937 southern Ireland was a dominion under the name of the Irish Free State. But with the new constitution of 1937, it loosened that tie and declared itself to be a sovereign, independent nation. However, Great Britain has not officially recognized this new status,

although she is not disputing it, either.

Eire does, however, maintain certain relationships with the British Commonwealth. For example, Irish diplomats carry credentials signed by the King of England; Irish citizens are extended the rights of British subjects all over the empire, and British subjects have similar rights in Eire.

Southern Ireland consists of some 27,000 square miles and has a population of just under 3,000,000. It is a picturesque country, covered with luxurious green vegetation. Climate is mild and moist. The land is largely agricultural, but food and textile industries are well established.

Other Possessions

In addition to the above members, the following are among the more important colonies, protectorates, and mandates of the empire, representing varying degrees of self-government.

In Europe. The Channel Islands (population, 94,000; 75 square miles) and the Isle of Man (50,000; 221 sq. mi.) are part of the British Isles. Gibraltar (20,000; two sq. mi.) and Malta (269,000; 122 sq. mi.).

In Asia. Ceylon (5,300,000; 25,332 sq. mi.) is on the tip of the Indian peninsula. Cyprus (384,000; 3,572 sq. mi.) nestles south of Turkey in the eastern Mediterranean. Aden (48,000; 112,000 sq. mi.) is a bit of land on the south coast of Arabia, near the entrance to the Red Sea. British Malaya (5,556,000; 51,127 sq. mi.) includes the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States. Nearby are North Borneo (270,000; 29,500 sq. mi.), Brunei (30,000; 2,226 sq. mi.), and Sarawak (490,000; 50,000 sq. mi.). One of the vital colonies lost to the enemy is Hong Kong, China (1,050,000; 391 sq. mi., including adjacent territory).

In Australasia. The largest territories in this region, apart from Australia and New Zealand, are New Guinea (668,000; 93,000 sq. mi.) and Papua (338,000; 90,540 sq. mi.). Among the smaller islands, or groups of islands, the leading ones are the Fijis (220,000; 7,083 sq. mi.), Tonga Island (34,000; 256 sq. mi.), Gilbert and Ellice Islands (32,000; 180 sq. mi.), the British Solomons (94,000; 375,000 sq. mi.), and the New Hebrides (54,000; 5,700 sq. mi.).

In Africa. Here are found two of the largest British mandates—South West Africa (314,000; 317,725 sq. mi.) and Tanganyika (5,270,000; 360,000 sq. mi.). In the south of Africa, neighboring the Union of South Africa, are Bechuanaland (265,000; 270,000 sq. mi.), Northern Rhodesia (1,381,000; 290,320 sq. mi.), and Southern Rhodesia (1,448,000; 150,333 sq. mi.). In the east are Kenya (3,534,000; 224,960 sq. mi.), Uganda (3,829,000; 93,000 sq. mi.), and Nyasaland (1,684,000; 37,374 sq. mi.). In the west are Nigeria (20,641,000; 372,559 sq. mi.), Gold Coast (3,962,000; 91,000 sq. mi.), Sierra Leone (1,672,000; 27,699 sq. mi.), and Gambia (199,520; 4,068 sq. mi.). Mention should also be made of Zanzibar (235,000; 1,020 sq. mi.) and Somaliland (345,000; 68,000 sq. mi.).

In the Americas. In the north are Newfoundland (300,000; 42,734 sq. mi.) and Labrador (4,700; 110,000 sq. mi.). Located in Central America is British Honduras (59,000; 8,500 sq. mi.). Island possessions, including those in the West Indies, have a total land area of 12,835 square miles and a total population of nearly 2,400,000. They include Bermuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Jamaica, the Leewards, the Windwards, and Trinidad. British Guiana, in South America, has nearly 350,000 people in its 89,480 square miles.



SOUTH AFRICA



PALESTINE



EIRE



England's Contributions

WE shall not undertake this week to summarize the history of England or of the British Empire. To do this would require much more space than we have at our disposal. It is possible, however, to discuss briefly certain sources of strength which have enabled England to stand through the centuries, while other nations have risen and fallen. It is possible, also, to outline some of the outstanding contributions that the English have made to civilization and to progress.

Facts of geography have played a large part in the history of England. Because Great Britain is an island, invasion from the continent has been difficult. Through the centuries, England has participated in many foreign wars, but since the Norman Conquest of 1066, invaders have not set foot on her soil.

Not only has England been separated from the continent by water, but the English people have been able to take advantage of that fact. They are a seafaring people, skilled in the building and manning of ships. So long as the enemy was able to reach them only by water, that is, until the Air Age, they succeeded in avoiding the devastation which brought ruin to many other peoples.

The English have kept their homeland intact. There has been little of that shifting of frontiers which has kept other nations in turmoil. Industrial and social developments in England have, therefore, been relatively continuous. They have been less affected by war than have similar developments in the continental countries.

One of the movements which has filled the pages of English history has been the struggle for liberty, for freedom from despotic rule. This struggle has continued through many centuries. A great milestone in the fight for freedom was the signing of Magna Carta in 1215. This charter changed England from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy. It gave rights and privileges to the barons and, in the course of time, these rights filtered down to the masses of the people.

The struggle for freedom went on after Magna Carta. Progress, however, was not smooth and even. There were periods of reaction when the gains which had been made seemed to be lost. But the fight went on and gradually an increasing measure of liberty was won by the English people.

This was a great contribution, not merely to the people of England, but to the world. England became a leader in the struggle for liberty. During the centuries that followed Magna Carta, the foundations were laid for the freedom enjoyed today in both England and the United States. Nearly all the rights set forth in our Bill of Rights had become a part of English law and practice before the colonies, later to become the United States, broke away

from the British Empire. The English led the fight for personal liberty until 1776. Since America became a nation, this country and England together have been the leaders of that great movement.

Another English contribution to the world was representative government. Democracy was not an English invention. It had been practiced long before the dawn of English history. The Greeks, for example, had democratic rule in their little city states. The citizens of Athens came together in town meeting style and discussed and voted upon their problems.

It was the English, however, who discovered a way to practice democracy in a larger territory. In a country the size of England, all the people cannot meet together to discuss issues and to vote on the enactment of laws. The English met this problem by conceiving of the idea that the people of a community might select someone and have him go to the capital or the place where the laws were to be made, and vote for them. This man was to represent or act for the people of his group. Their voices could thus be heard even though they remained at home.

This is a simple idea and it seems strange that such a plan was not worked out earlier. But it remained for the English to develop it. This made democracy possible in a large nation as well as in a small city state.

The English were very successful in devising other methods or machinery whereby democracy might be carried on. Through the course of many years of experimenting, they established a parliament which has

people (or the more important of them) came to the "talk fests" where problems of state were discussed. At first, they merely stood at the door and looked in. They were observers only. Gradually, they came to have a part in the discussions. Later still, these commoners or common people, met separately in a body known as the "House of Commons," while the lords met in another body known as the "House of Lords." In the article on the English system of government, which appears elsewhere in

this paper, we see that the House of Commons finally became the real governing power in England.

For centuries, the House of Commons itself was not a very democratic body. Only a few people were able to vote for members. But during the nineteenth century, particularly during the reign of Queen Victoria and under the leadership of Disraeli, the suffrage was extended and England became far more democratic.

While the English were laying the foundations for democracy and for the modern world, they were also becoming a great imperial power. During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, England was stretching out her influence all over the world, was acquiring colonies, and was displaying skill in the establishment and the maintaining of a colonial empire. Though the homeland was small, England's distant possessions became a source of political strength.

One of the great catastrophes of England's history was the loss of the American colonies. The full effect of the loss was probably not understood at the time. It is apparent today, however, for merely what was once the 13 colonies have become the United States of America, and this country, rather than England, has become the center of power among the English-speaking peoples.

The English have made a great contribution to literature. During the period of Queen Elizabeth, when England was at the threshold of a great colonial development, there was a flowering of literary geniuses such as the world has seldom seen. The greatest figure in this development was William Shakespeare. After the Elizabethan period, England's literary contributions continued and they stand as the greatest achievements of the English people.

The greatness and power of England during the last century and a half has resulted quite largely from the fact that the Industrial Revolution first gained headway in that nation. England got the jump on the other nations in the remarkable development of inventions and of industry. It began about the time of the American Revolution and has since continued unabated. Because England got this running start in industry and trade, she stood out as



King John approves Magna Carta at Runnymede in the year 1215

the strongest of the great powers during the nineteenth century.

While England has held all her enemies at bay and has maintained her independence during the almost 900 years which have passed since the Norman Conquest, she has gone through periods of great danger. At the time of Queen Elizabeth, she was in peril, as Spain, then a more powerful nation than England, sent her great Armada against the island. Victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588 saved England, however, and following that victory, came a period of English expansion.

During the Napoleonic Wars England was again in extreme peril. In 1805, Napoleon prepared a powerful invasion force against the relatively unready English. But again British sea power, this time commanded by Admiral Nelson, won the Battle of Trafalgar. Sea power, supported by one of England's greatest leaders, the younger William Pitt, saved England again. A few years later Napoleon was conquered and there came another century of English leadership.

During the nineteenth century, England was strong enough to play the other nations against one another. These nations formed alliances among themselves, and whenever one group threatened to become too strong, the English helped the other. By throwing her weight in the scale, she prevented any group of nations from becoming strong enough to threaten her.

England's third period of dire peril came within our time. There had been danger indeed during the First World War. But at no time during that struggle did the fall of England seem so imminent as it did in 1940. After Dunkirk, in June of that year, England appeared to be at the mercy of the Germans. The English leaders themselves knew how helpless they were and they actually expected invasion at any moment. But Hitler's invasion plans were not ready. He thought he had plenty of time. He did, indeed, strike from the air the following September and came near destroying England's resistance. Due to the unexpected strength, however, of the RAF, the attempt failed. England steadied herself, won allies, saved herself again.

What now will follow? What will the future hold for England? We consider some of the possibilities elsewhere in this paper.



The industrial revolution brought factory towns to England

become the model for parliaments and congresses all over the world. At first the English Parliament, or legislative body, was not democratic. It was composed of the nobility, the lords. They came together occasionally to talk things over or "parley." These discussions or "talk fests" came to be known as a "parliament."

After a good many years, the Parliament became more democratic. The representatives of the common

What Does the Future Hold for Britain?

AN English writer, J. T. Harris, speaking of the future of his country in *The New Republic* for April 12, says that, "In winning this war, we lose our position as a world power." He says further that England can retain a leading influence in world affairs only by "seeking to become the first among the smaller powers rather than the last among the great."

This may seem a strange prophecy for an Englishman to make. It may reasonably be asked why England should decline as a great power after winning the war. England's situation at this time may be compared to that which she occupied during the Napoleonic Wars. She was the organizer of the opposition to Napoleon. At several times during the progress of the Napoleonic Wars she stood alone against the continent. Finally, there was developed a coalition which defeated the French emperor, and following that, England enjoyed a period of unexampled power.

But strange as it may seem, most observers agree with the English writer whom we have quoted. They do not expect England to collapse after the present war, but they do think it likely that her power, in comparison with that of the other great nations, will decline.

Effect of Air Age

While on the surface England's position after the war (assuming that we win it) will be similar to her position after the Napoleonic Wars, the analogy is not complete. Certain important changes in her position must be taken into account. One big fact is, that sea power cannot be depended upon as a defense in the future. The fact that England is an island is less important than it was before the Air Age. We must expect that air power will have a very marked development. And since the decisive battles of the future are likely to be fought in the air, England can be attacked almost as easily as if she were not separated from the continent by water.

England is a relatively small country with a population much less than that of some of the other nations and she is weak in certain essential resources. She cannot easily feed and supply herself unless she commands the routes by which supplies can be brought in. She cannot command these routes with her navy alone as she has done in the past. She can, therefore, be secure only if she can be sure of powerful allies with whose help she can control the air.

England cannot depend for help upon her empire to so great an extent as she has in the past. The empire is already breaking into independent nations. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, are already independent. They know that for their protection they depend as much upon the United States as upon England, or even more. That has been demonstrated during the present war. In forming their international policies, therefore, they are likely to line up with America as much as with England. At any rate, there is always the possibility that they will do this.

Not only are these nations independent, but India is well on the

way to independence, and England cannot depend, definitely, upon that vast region for support. Other of the English colonies, from time to time, will, no doubt, join the ranks of independent nations.

Since England will be too weak to protect herself in the future, and since she cannot count with certainty upon the nations which make up the empire or the commonwealth, she must devise other means of self-protection. It seems likely that she will follow one of these three courses:

(a) England may be drawn more closely to the United States. If she can form an alliance with this country, she will feel quite safe. In that case, she could depend, if attacked, upon immediate help, not only from America, but from Canada, Australia, South Africa, and possibly India and other sections of the empire.

This is probably the course which most Englishmen would like to take. For such a plan, however, they will have to have the approval and support of the United States. They cannot be sure that they can get this country to form a binding alliance with them. There is this further difficulty. They would not want to depend upon an American alliance unless they felt certain that this country would hold to it through the years; and it is difficult to see how America could be brought to commit herself for a long period to such a program.

(b) If an alliance with the United States should prove impossible, the English might try to set up some kind of system of collective security. If they could get the nations of the world, including the United States, to enter into something like the League of Nations, only one that was stronger than the old League, they might feel fairly secure. A strong league or association of nations might guarantee all of its members, either strong or weak, against attack. If all the nations, even the weaker ones, were guaranteed that if they should be attacked, the other nations would come to their aid, security might be established.

In working for a plan of that kind, the English would recognize the fact that they, like the other smaller countries, are not able to defend themselves alone. But they could work for such a strong association of nations that all countries, including their own, could be relatively safe.

(c) If the English cannot get an American alliance or a strong association of nations upon which they can rely for protection, their next best chance for security would probably be to ally themselves with some other strong nation. When the war is over (assuming that we win it) the two strongest nations in the world will be the United States and Rus-

sia. If England cannot make an alliance with the United States, she will probably turn to Russia. She already has a treaty of alliance with Russia, and the two countries may work closely together for mutual defense.

When we say that England will probably decline in importance as a world power, we mean merely that she will not exert as much influence in international affairs as she has done for the last century or two. We

of the influence they have exerted in world politics, may follow a course more like that of the Scandinavians than that of the Greeks, Romans, or Spaniards. The English are both idealistic and practical. They have stood stoutly through the centuries for the great principles of liberty, democracy, and justice which they have done so much to advance. There is no reason to think that these ideals will die.

When confronted by crises, the



The watch on the Channel

BRITISH COMBINE

do not mean that civilization in England will deteriorate. We do not mean that the future of the country will be less glorious than the past.

It should be remembered that the decline of nations as world powers does not mean that they will necessarily become less happy or prosperous. The time was when Sweden was a great power and so also was the Netherlands. Both of these countries have declined in world influence and yet they represent as fine a quality of civilization as can be found anywhere in the world. In many respects, the Scandinavians have been handling their problems better than have any other people.

On the other hand, decline in world influence has, in some places, meant the blotting out of that which was most promising in a civilization. When Greece declined, she lost the qualities of leadership which had made her great. Rome never regained the glory which she achieved in her best days. When Spain declined as a world power, her people sank into a hopeless poverty from which they have not recovered.

There is reason to think that the English, even though they lose some

English have been courageous enough and practical enough and energetic enough to pull themselves through. It may reasonably be expected that they will continue to exhibit these qualities.

It seems likely, then, that during the years to come, England may continue to lead in the advancement of individual liberty and that she may become more democratic. The recent history of the English people indicates that they may advance in the direction of social democracy. They have been backward in this field. Though their government has been democratic, they have not been as socially democratic as the people of the United States, Australia, Canada, and many other parts of the world. Class lines are quite tightly drawn in England. There is more difference between the so-called "upper classes" and the "lower classes" than in many other nations. It has, in the past, been hard for one to make his way from one social group to a higher one. There are indications that this is changing and that democratic progress in England in the future will follow social, as well as political, lines.



London plans for the future. This drawing shows proposed improvements to London's Riverside. Houses of Parliament are at lower right.

Rebuilding Britain

IN the year 1666 the heart of the city of London was destroyed by a great fire. Governmental authorities, wishing to reconstruct the city along finer lines, commissioned the famous architect Sir Christopher Wren to draw the plans. Sir Christopher set to work and reported with a well-conceived design for a city with broad boulevards and parks to replace the narrow, twisted streets of the old city.

Sir Christopher Wren's ideas were much admired but they were not followed out. Special interests of different sorts edged in and one feature of the plan after another was chipped away. London grew up again in hit-or-miss fashion. A few marks of Sir Christopher Wren's work remained, such as the great cathedral of St. Paul's, but that was all.

Now that large areas in the heart of London have been laid waste again—this time by German bombs—the British are determined not to repeat the mistake their forebears made several centuries ago. They are going to see to it that London, and other cities and towns which have been bombed, are rebuilt right.

In the great National Gallery, London's world-famous museum, an exhibit organized by the Royal Institute of British Architects is currently attracting much attention. It is an exhibit of designs and plans for the rebuilding of Britain after the war. There have been similar exhibits in England during past months, and they have always drawn large crowds.

In the London of the future the areas around great buildings and monuments will be cleared, providing space for parks which will form settings for the stately structures. Reconstructed streets will be wider to give better access to business offices, buildings, and apartments. The Thames River, coursing through the city, will be lined by splendid boulevards. Most important, dark and evil slum districts will be replaced by well-lighted, low-cost apartment dwellings, and new parks will be built in the sections of the city in which the poorer people live.

Not to be outdone by London, many bombed-out towns in England are making elaborate plans for rebuilding after the war. Particularly notable is the plan for a new Coventry—the industrial town which was all but devastated in one of the fiercest raids of the war.

Coventry is to be turned into a "dream city." A hundred-acre area in the heart of the town, blasted to ruins by the bombings, is to be developed as a civic, business, and recreational center. The Coventry of tomorrow is described as follows by Geoffrey Parsons, Jr., in the New York Herald-Tribune:

"The plans as now drawn provide for a central arcaded shopping district, built around garden squares. No automobile traffic will be allowed inside the shopping area, although motorists will be allowed to drive up to the outside approaches of the area to parking places. Nurseries are planned to accommodate children while parents shop.

"Close by, on one side of the shopping center, will be the office buildings, and on the other side motion picture houses and theatres. . . . The ancient historic buildings of Coventry that survive the raids are to form the central axis of the new city plan. . . . Down the gentle slope on which the center of Coventry now stands, there once were slums, a parking lot and a factory. The official plans call for a pleasant park here, surrounding swimming pools, public baths, and open-air theatre."

It will cost money to accomplish all these things in Coventry, in London, and in other British towns and cities, and the people and the authorities are well aware of that fact. But the rebuilding must be done, and it can be done well, with an eye to better living for the people, or it can be done poorly. The people of Britain are determined that it shall be done well.

It has taken a war to bring the effects of bad housing home to the people of Britain. Before the war people knew in a general sort of way that slums were terrible, they listened with polite sympathy to stories describing the consequences of poor housing, and they were quite willing to see the "submerged tenth" of the population become better housed. But the people themselves were distant from actual conditions.

The bombings have blasted this complacency. The air attacks drove many of the poorest out of their slums, and scattered them over the country. The people of England have been able to see for themselves the results of bad housing and are now really determined to wipe out slums after the war.

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Some Questions

1. Define the following terms: England; United Kingdom; British Isles; British Empire; British Commonwealth of Nations; dominion; Great Britain.
2. Approximately how many inhabitants are there in the British Empire?
3. What are the outstanding characteristics of Canada? Australia? New Zealand?
4. True or false: India is a self-governing dominion within the British Empire.
5. What is the historical significance of Magna Carta?
6. What has been England's great contribution toward representative government?
7. What effect did the Industrial Revolution have upon England's past power and greatness?
8. Compare England's position

during the Napoleonic Wars with her position in World War II.

9. What are some of the more important changes brought to England as a result of the war?

10. Why is England's security likely to be more difficult to maintain in the future than it has been in the past?

11. What three courses of action are open to England after the war and what is likely to be the effect of each?

12. Compare the British Constitution with the Constitution of the United States.

13. Compare the British Parliament with the United States Congress.

14. How does the British cabinet differ from the American?

15. True or false: The British Prime Minister is elected by the people for a term of five years.

SMILES



"After this couldn't you just camouflage yourself as a tree, or bush, or something?"
—GOE IN SATURDAY EVENING POST

Taxes could be a lot worse. Suppose we had to pay on what we think we're worth.
—RAYS OF SUNSHINE

"My son's letters from overseas always send me to the map."
"You're fortunate. My daughter's letters from school send me to the bank."
—MONITOR

"Is this train on time?" growled the grouchy passenger.
"Oh," replied the conductor, "we never worry about its being on time. We're satisfied if it's on the track."
—SELECTED

"Say, Jim, when you have your tonsils removed, they call it a tonsillectomy. What do they call it when you have a growth removed from your head?"
"I don't know, Joe. Tell me."
"A haircut."
—WALL STREET JOURNAL

Sheriff: "Why didn't you catch that guy? You had bloodhounds."
Deputy: "Could I help it if he was anemic?"
—WALL STREET JOURNAL